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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1756

INFO RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1856

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C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 7693 COMBINED SECTION
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ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E.G. 12065: GDS 8/13/87 (MEERAN, FRANCIS J.) DR-M

TAGS: PPDC, SCUL, PL

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PRIMATE

REF: STATE 212938

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE PRIMATE, ARCHBISHOP GLEMP, RECEIVED ME AUGUST 12. I GAVE HIM THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. I CONVEYED THE POINTS IN THE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS. HE TOOK THEM CONSTRUCTIVELY BUT DID NOT COMMENT IN DETAIL. HE WAS CRITICAL OF BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARITY IN THE CURRENT SITUATION. HE INDICATED THAT HE WAS ABOUT TO ENTER AN ACTIVE PHASE WITH A VIEW TO MODERATING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEM. THE PRIMATE MAY NOT HAVE THE CHARISMA THAT MARKED HIS PREDECESSOR BUT HE GIVES

CONFIDENTIAL

State Dept. review completed

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE

81 6926140

PAGE 002

NC 6926140

TOR: 131851Z AUG 81

EVIDENCE OF BEING A COOL AND RESOLUTE LEADER.
END SUMMARY.

3. THE PRIMATE RECEIVED ME AT MY REQUEST AUGUST 12. I GAVE HIM THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. HE EXPRESSED HIS THANKS WARMLY, FROM HIMSELF PERSONALLY AND ON BEHALF OF THE POLISH CHURCH.

4. I ASKED THE PRIMATE FOR HIS VIEWS ON THE CURRENT SITUATION. HE WAS CLEARLY CONCERNED BY RECENT EVENTS AND THE IMPLICATIONS THEY HAD FOR DETERIORATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARITY, AND FOR THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS THIS WOULD HAVE ON THE COUNTRY'S PROSPECTS. HE WAS CRITICAL OF BOTH SIDES IN THE DISPUTE, RATHER EVEN-HANDED IN HIS APPROACH. HE TOOK A NEGATIVE VIEW OF WHAT HE CALLED HAKOWSKI'S RIDICULING OF SOLIDARITY, AND HE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE INFLUENCE OF THE RADICALS WITHIN THE UNION. ON THE LAST POINT, HE WAS NOT PRECISE IN HIS RESPONSE WHEN I ASKED HIM IF HE THOUGHT THE INFLUENCE OF THE RADICALS WAS GROWING. HE ATTRIBUTED IMPORTANCE TO THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS IN THE SPECIFIC SENSE THAT IT WOULD HAVE A SETTLING EFFECT ON THE MOVEMENT AND PRODUCE A CLEARER LINE. HE NOTED THAT SOLIDARITY DID NOT ENTIRELY CONTROL THE POPULATION AND THEREFORE, DISTURBANCES COULD TAKE PLACE WHICH WERE BEYOND THE UNION'S INFLUENCE.

5. THE PRIMATE SAW THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AS CRITICAL. HE EXPRESSED VIEWS ON PRICE INCREASES WHICH WERE MUCH MORE ON GOVERNMENT THAN ON SOLIDARITY LINES. HE SAID THAT INCREASES SHOULD NOT AWAIT THE COMING INTO EFFECT OF GENERAL ECONOMIC REFORM BUT SHOULD PROCEED INDEPENDENTLY. SOLIDARITY OF COOT *

* EFLINKS THE TWO AND IN EFFECT HAS MADE ITS CONSENT TO SUPPORT PRICE INCREASES DEPENDENT UPON IMPLEMENTATION OF A REFORM PROGRAM WHICH HAS ITS AGREEMENT. THE PRIMATE INTRODUCED A NEW VIEW OF ECONOMIC REFORM BY LINKING THE POLISH SITUATION MUCH MORE TIGHTLY THAN I HAD HEARD PREVIOUSLY TO THAT IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE. HE TOOK THE POSITION IN EFFECT THAT THE DELAY IN COMING OUT WITH A REFORM PROGRAM WAS DUE TO THE EFFECT IT WOULD HAVE ON POLAND'S COMECON PARTNERS. HE STATED THAT POLAND'S ECONOMIC FUTURE IS EFFECTIVELY TIED TO THESE COUNTRIES AT A TIME WHEN THE "SOCIALIST" SYSTEMS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE

81 6926144

PAGE 003

NC 6926144

TOP: 131851Z AUG 81

ALL OVER EASTERN EUROPE ARE WAVERING.

6. THE PRIMATE INDICATED THAT HE WAS ABOUT TO MOVE INTO AN ACTIVE PHASE IN HIS OWN ROLE IN THE CURRENT SITUATION. HE SAID HE WOULD BE MEETING WITH KANIA LATER IN THE DAY. THERE WOULD BE A MEETING OF A COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL OF BISHOPS AUGUST 13 WHICH WOULD PRODUCE A STATEMENT INTENDED TO "PLACATE" THE PEOPLE (I READ THIS AS MEANING THAT IT WOULD HAVE A CALMING EFFECT ON CURRENT TENSIONS RATHER THAN THAT IT WOULD BE PRO-SOLIDARITY). HE WOULD BE SPEAKING AT CZESTOCHOWA ON AUGUST 15, AND THE GENERAL THEME WOULD BE THE NEED FOR POLES TO WORK TOGETHER COOPERATIVELY FOR THE GOOD OF THE NATION. THE PRIMATE ALSO INDICATED THAT HE WOULD BE CONSULTING WITH SOLIDARITY IN THE NEAR FUTURE, BUT

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HE WAS NOT CLEAR ON TIMING AND SCOPE OF THE CONSULTATIONS. THE INTENTION IN THESE VARIOUS MOVES WAS, HE MADE CLEAR, TO THROW THE CHURCH'S WEIGHT, AS IN THE PAST, BEHIND EFFORTS TO REACH COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS TO DISPUTES. HE DID NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE DIFFICULTY OF FINDING SUCH SOLUTIONS AND NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RUSSIAN FACTOR. KANIA AND JARUZELSKI MIGHT FIND IT DIFFICULT TO GIVE MUCH IN THE EXCHANGES WITH SOLIDARITY BEFORE THEIR MEETING WITH BREZHNEV TAKES PLACE. HE ALLUDED TO THE POTENTIAL DANGERS ARISING FROM THE PROPOSED "STAR MARCHES" PLANNED FOR NEXT WEEK ON BEHALF OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. (THESE MARCHES WOULD START FROM VARIOUS TOWNS IN POLAND AND CONVERGE ON THE CAPITAL -- THUS THE "STAR" DESIGNATION.) THE MARCHES COULD GIVE RISE TO PROVOCATIONS. THE CHURCH WOULD SEEK TO WORK AGAINST ANY PROVOCATIONS AND, THE PRIMATE SAID, THERE HAD BEEN SOME COMMITMENTS FROM SOLIDARITY TO AVOID THEM. ON THIS LAST POINT, THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR, WHO ALSO SAW THE PRIMATE AUGUST 12, HAS TOLD ME THAT IN THEIR CONVERSATION IT WENT BEYOND THE VIEWS CONVEYED TO ME ON THE "STAR MARCHES." THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR QUOTES THE PRIMATE AS SAYING FLATLY THAT THE MARCHES WILL NOT TAKE PLACE.

7. AFTER OUR GENERAL CONVERSATION ON THE ABOVE TOPICS, I CONVEYED THE POINTS CONTAINED REFTEL PARA 3. THE PRIMATE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE

81 6926144

PAGE 004

NC 6926144

TOR: 131851Z AUG 81

LISTENED CAREFULLY. HE DID NOT COMMENT IN GREAT DETAIL. HE DID SAY, HOWEVER, THAT HE WAS SURE THE POLISH PEOPLE WERE PREPARED TO WORK HARD TO MOVE ECONOMIC RECOVERY FORWARD. THEY MUST BE CONVINCED THAT THERE WAS SOMETHING IN IT FOR THEM AND THE ABSENCE OF SUCH CONVICTION WAS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE REASON WHY THE COAL MINING SITUATION WAS SO DIFFICULT. THE PRIMATE ALSO RESPONDED TO THE POINT THAT WE WISHED TO SUPPORT THE CHURCH AND HIM IN HIS EFFORTS TO PROMOTE POLISH RECOVERY AND SAID HE HOPED THAT WE WOULD INDEED STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH.

8. COMMENT. THE PRIMATE AT FIRST MEETING IS A STRIKING CONTRAST TO CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI -- WHOM I MET ONLY ONCE, IN THE LAST MONTHS OF HIS LIFE. THE NEW PRIMATE IS LESS IMPRESSIVE PHYSICALLY, SMALLER IN STATURE, LESS DISTINGUISHED IN FEATURES AND FACIAL EXPRESSION. THERE IS NOTHING OF THE ARISTOCRATIC, AUTOCRATIC AIR THAT I HAVE BEEN TOLD BY SOME THE LATE CARDINAL HAD -- ALTHOUGH I MUST SAY THAT IN THE ONLY MEETING I HAD WITH HIM I FELT LITTLE OF THIS AND WAS STRUCK BY HIS WARMTH AND FRIENDLINESS. IN ANY CASE, THE NEW PRIMATE STRIKES ONE AS BEING MUCH MORE AN "ORDINARY MAN," DOWN TO EARTH, PRACTICAL. HE WAS CALM AND SOMEWHAT TENTATIVE -- HE SAID, I BELIEVE GENUINELY MEANING IT, THAT HE MISSED CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI'S SURE TOUCH IN DIFFICULT MATTER -- BUT HE ALSO SPOKE FRANKLY AND FORCEFULLY ON SOME CONTENTIOUS POINTS. HE IS FINDING HIS WAY INTO THE PRIMACY AT AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TIME, CONSCIOUS OF THE BURDENS THAT LIE ON HIM, BUT HE STRUCK ME AS BEING COOL AND REALISTIC, NOT ONE TO FLAP EASILY WHEN THE GOING IS HEAVY. I SHOULD THINK HE WILL SETTLE IN QUICKLY AND BE A TIGHT AND RESOLUTE LEADER. HE DOES NOT YET HAVE THE CHARISMA WHICH MARKED CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI, BUT I GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT HE IS CAPABLE OF CREATING FOR HIMSELF THE TRADITIONAL AURA OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP THAT ATTACHES TO THE PRIMACY. MEEHAN

END OF MESSAGE

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